/201 cont./

only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits. In short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them. He knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the persons by means of language. His myths and legends, which to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would accordingly be only playful ones if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom. Indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the hods. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agriculture -- except in the case of the Tsimsi -- have been in the possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Salish belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

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in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadi legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of development are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them

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excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingú Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

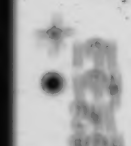
But, according to the scheme, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still another problem. The Schingú tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /205/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as is

/[illegible]/

place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /Tupí/ word "pacóba," which the lingua geral has for banana: they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese. I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology; today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to territorial, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "plátano" so unmistakably in their "paláturu" and "balatana" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement. Finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a low corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the [illegible], do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the French), by the way, I believe that this proof is as forceful as negative proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius let themselves be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but the basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Nu-Aruak, II, the Karaiben, and III, the Tupí.



/111 cons./

I. On the Schingú, among the Ma-tenati, *peppe* is called *ñ*, among the Mesipure on the Chingu *ei*, among the Mawe /Mape/ in Bolivia *enchee*, among the Aruac *kanaihi*, among the women of the Island Carabaya *ñi*, for the Tupis of the island of Santa Orinda *gnen ou*, *e.t.*

II. On the Schingú, among the Carabeo *kaiadé*, *peppe* is called *pão* (with a nasal *ã*), among the Salumá *ehne*, *khni*, among the Island Carabeo *pini*, *pinui*, among the Carabeo Chimeo tribe in Venezuela *pinde*, *pinuay*, in the Goiáz generally widespread in Guiana *pini*. Among the Feimella, a Carabeo tribe on the Madeira, *epkna*.

III. Som Tupí the Camapuá on the Schingú have the word *Boding*, the Omagua on the upper Amazon *shet*, the Cuaná in Paraguay *tip*, the lingua geral has *ipiá*, *ipinha*, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, /111/ extend over more than half of South America and turn up at points that go back from 1887 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us irrefutably that *peppe* was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose common family members have preserved no memories on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the history [illegible] because we are caught up in the delusion, not *only* that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to which we were the first to bring morals are largely crude hunting peoples roamed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rabble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy names which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

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word kauí for the simple refreshing drink made out of water and crumbled beiú in the same kauim which their Tupí fellow-tribesmen associating with Europeans or more advanced Americans use for intoxicating beverages and therefore have retained from the days of innocence in the transition to less innocuous pleasures. The absence of intoxicating beverages for which the material is available will not escape the ever-ready explanation that the Indians formerly also possessed these fine products of civilization and have now simply forgotten them, and should, in this particular instance, perhaps for once induce the person who insists on seeing primitive conditions, without exception, back to retrogression and downfall to substitute virtue for demoralization and purity of morals for depravity. Anyone who has seen the Indian in Brazil celebrating kauim or kauhiri festivals, who has been obliged to interrupt his best journey for the noble purpose and with neither money nor kind words has been successful in making the people disperse before the last drop has disappeared out of the full drink-canoe, will not believe otherwise than that a few mills which really consumes only unfermented drinks at its festivals certainly does not have an inkling of the fermented ones and could never have had an inkling of them as far back as the most mythical forefathers and culture heroes. The practice of producing fermentation by chewing is so simple that one does not understand how it was forgotten or, what is more, could have been forgotten by representatives of different tribal groups.

I find, conversely, in the absence of intoxicating beverages, the surest guarantee of undisturbed conditions on the Schingú and believe it to be an imperative assumption that in the same way, before the invasion of Europeans, similar little cultural scenes of the "Stone Age" must have been common throughout centuries and millenniums in the numerous, relatively isolated river valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco systems. People did not always get along with their neighbors (women! stone axes!), occasionally disturbers of the peace broke in and perhaps permanently destroyed one of the small centers, but new ones were established in their place, and this is how, in a small and modest

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● 214 way, always and at all times, what we call history was enacted. Here and there a tribe was driven away by attackers or was split by internal feuds, a long period of wandering took place before settlement again followed but in general people shifted and intermingled from one river valley to another.

Nothing but an eternal alternation of isolation and unification, in which now the latter, now the latter was more sharply pronounced, could have produced the multitude of simultaneous linguistic /214/ differences and conformities within the same family of languages: that, in spite of the changes, a true stability predominated, however, is shown by the surprisingly large number of congruisms, particularly in view of the paucity of our material. Where it is possible to establish phonetic laws, we see the same certainty and regularity that we find in our European languages. This we may only conclude that there was an orderly course of development, despite occasional catastrophes. Even the tribes of hunters must have already had a form of settled, though more irregular existence, in order to acquire the splendid technique of bow and arrow. Only in the peaceful, day-by-day life for generations could the useful plants have been acquired, and it is not at all necessary that it was always large and mighty tribes that brought about progress. We see in the case of the Schingú people that primitive agriculture needed fishing and hunting, if only to furnish it with its tools. The realization that is now becoming ac...and in South America, namely, that the restless redskins were tode...to a far greater extent than we should credit them with today, that these wild tribes of hunters are in part the product of the revolution stirred up by us, is perfectly in agreement with the conclusions forced upon us by our experiences along the Schingú.

● 171 462 For our Indians -- far be it from me to generalize -- there is a deeper and yet very simple reason that very well explains the juxtaposition of the bloody hunt and the peaceful tillage of the soil. To put it bluntly: the man practiced hunting and

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gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand the connection.

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam; the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd, or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to look for some obscure connection with cremation. Thus it is important to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Aturen, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kulisehu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots. The filtrate

2: Steinen--220 E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/217 cont./ The Filtrate

of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

Soup meat and meat broth were unknown. the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes. the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Bambusa cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women.

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

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skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture surpassing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being. Just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots. the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink to the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Ineadliat culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter existence of the men, elevates the female sex for this point of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[133] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive: man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of [123] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path; they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

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I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded part of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and crowing aracus. He let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or hoazin or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying cockies -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed, what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Kaxaiben were once furthered in this way in

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their civilization by Nu-Amak women is shown : their tribal legend, as I should like to mention here already,in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two ulure heroes, the twin brothers Kuri and Kame, the former of hom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally widespread Nu-Amak words, always appearing togethr, for moon and sun, so that an influence hom the Nu-Amakinde is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kuri is the leader of the Nu-Amak and other tribes, Kuri, of the Bakiri. Everything that Kuri and Kame undertake in the best persons of the tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Kwaki,who takes the place of the mother, the woman who always fingpoints out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a digid work-animal.

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Fireinstrum.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behaviour of a dnimal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "gratmals," a cilizing place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of inception by the storms. Fire-making and work methods. Practice on the Schingú. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of mastering the fire and timber-technique. Prehistoric vagaries and Fromentheus Conflagration by experiment

If I have already been obliged in the present chapters to discuss my observations on the Schingú wi[illegible] to their general culture-historical value, I shall be evenmore [illegible] doing so in connection with the subject that am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingindians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbingpieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasurdelusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I shild simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, to are still unfamiliar

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882. mutually assimilated only by a person who is already in possession of the separate processes. If now and then the storm actually started a fire, man probably quickly took a brand so that wind or rain would not extinguish it. Perhaps he also observed that a falling tree killed an animal and, happily frightened, seized the unexpected booty, but we would rather not date from this fantastic moment his having reached for the club and found a weapon with which to kill animals. He must have learned these skills in some other way. Up to the present time such an extremely simple explanation for any primitive achievement has not been satisfactory. It has always been realized that there had been produced a more or less ingenious myth which lacked only the name of the originator to merit adoption in popular mythology. Today, too, the fancy of the speculative mythologist, praised or condemned, is perpetuated in all the literature, along with the Prometheus legend, and will, it seems, always be associated with it.

It is clear that we must not be led astray by the subsequent mystic, poetic, religious, or scientific conceptions related to fire and regard primitive man, who is a sober, limited, practical individual, as something he is not, either as a philosopher or a modern inventor. If we turn to living experience, the obstacle immediately disappears at the start, namely, the contradiction, which is not intelligible except in an age of fully developed property concepts, that a thing will strike sparks and at the same time become indispensable day and night.

For the last stage, with the origin of which we need not concern ourselves further here, when man reached the point of deliberately keeping the wild, free fire burning and making it permanently serviceable to himself by continuous transference [illegible] the comparatively old [illegible] tended, and tamed it, like a species of domestic animal, may not be inappropriate. But it is only with the further problem of how the method of producing fire came about that we [illegible] ourselves on firm ground among primitive peoples. We immediately see among them various methods for this work, and they must therefore be examined in connection with other work methods.

It was from this point of view that I tried to gather information

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among the Schiegi Indians, and I believe I shall be able to prove how their way of producing fire must have originated. It is the simplest one of the "fire drill," very widespread in America and other parts of the world, whereas in Polynesia a "stick" is rubbed in a "groove."

/224/ The natives take two sticks not quite as thin as a little finger, about three-fourths of a metre long, and still covered with the bark that keeps them dry, and cut a small depression into one with a shell. While one man lays the stick on the ground and keeps it firmly pressed down, a second man sets the other stick into the depression and twirls it with great speed between his hands which glide swiftly up and down on it. Through the twirling the little depression is enlarged, a fine dust is loosened, and this begins to glow and to smoke. Tinder is brought forth, blown upon, and immediately the flame is there. The small depression now appears extremely smooth and charred on the surface. The process from start to finish does not take a minute. The one who twirls really exerts himself. It would be an exaggeration to make more of it, although a person who is not practised and allows small pauses to occur, which is detrimental to the result, will not succeed without a supreme effort. In an emergency, a single individual will manage very well with the procedure by holding the stick firmly on the ground with his feet.

The fire sticks are usually two straight twigs from the mimosa bush or small, white bean wood. Other wood, too, has "fire in it," as the Indian understands it, especially old and hardened, the two types of arrow reed. If the hunter on his way has no fire with him and needs it, he knows how to help himself. He breaks an arrow and drills one piece like the other. The arrow is precious, however, and rubbing is strenuous. We several times observed that the men on their way to the harbor and into the forest took along burning chunks from the smoldering clearing, which they later heedlessly tossed aside. On excursions that involved an absence from home for days they took along with them in the canoe a huge smoldering piece of dry cotton wood from the forest.

/224 cont./

The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is furnished best by the young *cakuná* palm (a Cocos species). In the campo, tinder from the *guariroba* palm (*Cocos oleracea*) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one ignites the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Kaxyé /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder. "It is itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood to rubbing fire with the "drill" /*Rubaw*, bore, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind, the Kaxyé drill bamboo in small.

We find the movement of twirling very difficult. Indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills operate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail. It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone. /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his bow

with to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

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wood so hard that it would not only become warm, but also glowed, lighted, burned? If the gentlemen who make this suggestion about our revered ancestors were stranded on an uninhabited, wooded coral island -- I am willing to assume, with some poison, that with their technical and theoretical knowledge they would hit upon the idea of rubbing wood with wood to make a campfire for themselves. The man of prehistoric times, however long he had had love fire and had known its value, could have been purposely led to the discovery only if the wood warmed by rubbing had also glowed. Then he would perhaps have made the attempt to increase the glow to a flame. The Bakairi, for example, actually reasoned in this way. The campfire, they said, struck fire out of his eyes.

In the aforementioned suggestion for the solution of the problem, there is, however, a sound core, namely, that one should not allow too much room for chance concerning an invention. Actually, if one wishes to believe that people only incidentally, in connection with the making of tools, made the observation that fire is produced when wood is rubbed or drilled with wood, then it should at least be presented in a direct and intimate connection with the use of fire. If wood was drilled, it was undoubtedly drilled with teeth, bone, or stone, and although it is possible that on occasion, if this material were lacking, a hard piece of wood was used for twirl-drilling, which then produced a smoldering powder, this undeniable possibility does not seem quite convincing to me because it does not grow out of the fire technique itself. You can see, for a practical case, if the customary [illegible] more by boring through wood that they chose the laborious method and did not achieve their purpose more conveniently by tying or breaking or some other way. A little /226/ reflection and a few facts lead us to an approach that is possibly more promising.

Man had fire, kept it going, but could not produce it. It is clear that the first skill which had to be learned and was learned at this stage was to revive the fire and transfer it to another place.

/36b cont./

1973 1973 Could we not regard Kuxu and Kaxse as personifications of the sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun in further hills, but were merely called that, the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Saiulli bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together. the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be entombed, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted. It is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

101 104 In the first place one should consider whether the names do not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The home tribes of the Kuilailu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Amak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Ashuna, the tributary of the Tapajos. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Ashuna and Iamma, the *Pawnd* group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have drifted southwards. Further to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Amak. The *Pawnd* who visited us in Cuyabá called the sun kamdi and the Ashuna, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uhiha = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the *Pawnd* group. It could certainly have been ancestors of the /36/ Umbuiani tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kuilailu,* from whom the stimulu

* They are [illegible] "moon" in the unaltered form "kame" and "kéri," while the *Pawnd* of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayô, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old *Pawnd*, who were split up into many subtribes.

[illegible]

to the Iwaidjá could have come at a time that disappeared long ago. It is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Iwaidjá tradition so profoundly has not existed as independent form for a long time — all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Fanmul the Asiwa is called sun-river, Kanesiwa, or east-river, for the tribes which, according to the Iwaidjá, were made by the hero Kaime are "nalu gamo de Asiwa," "all the people of the Asiwa." They enumerated the Fanmul, Apuká /Apuca/, Wunduwiá /Wunduwia/, and Kaiwá (formerly on the Asiwa), Waiá (on the Tapajós). Kaí, on the other hand, made "Iwaidjá /Iwaia/, Wahaiwá /Wahaiwa/, Nahuquá, Iranú, Kayapó /Cayapó/, Kayabí /Cayabí/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Asiwa. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there as to-day and Tupí on both sides. It embraces two large, partially affiliated groups which are by no means lying exactly west-east, for one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the message point of the Iwaidjá, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Iwaidjá and Fanmul, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kaime = Nafanua "sun," but among the Iwaidjá born of the second rank and last of the moon, in the tribal economy of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Kaí = Na-fanua "moon," but among the Iwaidjá the more favored born and last of the sun, in the tribal economy of the eastern and southern tribes.

Here I should like to draw up an interesting example found in Schneider von Humboldt. • In the vicinity of Belgrano, the

• [illegible]
/Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, II, p. 173.

place named after a Fa-fanua tribe, stand two rocks in the stream of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Lot or

[187 cont.]

and moon-rock," is known as account of a white egg dishing far off, probably a lump of quartz, "in which the natives profess to see a picture of the full moon"; opposite it on another rock a similar white spot "with mysterious impressions" is painted on, it "is disk-shaped and, they say, it is the picture of the sun, Canopi." "Perhaps the geographical location of these two things has given rise to their being so named, Kaai lies toward the setting sun, Canopi toward the rising sun." It is not informed whether one disk is or else larger than the other, but [illegible] that, if two equal disks should represent moon and sun, the one in the east will be regarded as the picture of the sun, the other that of the moon, although the west as such has no more to do with the moon [187] than with the sun. It could also happen that of two groups of cities lying east-west, the one to the east would be called the city of the sun, the other the one of the moon.

● 104 Unfortunately, in no case we arrive at nothing but confusion with the same inference. From the standpoint of the old ancient Ha-Amaki, for whom the future was the east-lying and sun-lying, the East Cities lived even more to the east than the Long-Future cities. From the standpoint of the Intuiti, the Long cities lived far west and the East cities to the east. The equivalence of the directions would thus be interchanged.

But let us, for the time being, ignore the directions and imagine ourselves in the situation at the time the myths originated. These extend ancient connections and eventually also a close connection between the Ha-Amaki and Intuiti. This must have happened if the names East and Long were adapted to the Intuiti. The two elements therefore fit historically related and traced their history back to two locations with lived together in the most ancient times. The two locations provided their cities with all the good things that they enjoy today. But before they were able to accomplish this on earth they must have lived in heaven, the other world which we are presented with all its beautiful animals and things. They were born there and, with the animals native there, experienced the events which must have happened at that time to make it appear as it does now. The two also put the

//Bill cont./

father built an owl room under the pot or in the ground room in which even now they are covered for a time. They saw to it that day and night alternate properly, so that we always have our regular time for sleeping. If the two had not done that we should be in difficulty. before that things were vastly not as well regulated, then the two balls were still a single one, a large owl that flew around with it into all kinds of regions, and only where it happened to be did it become light. Then, however, they took the feathers away for us, dividing them between each other, and established the regular service which now runs so precisely with the sun and moon: day after day and night after night that we might we have our rest and during the day find our way about safely everywhere. That is why today we call one ball "sun" and the other "moon," as they themselves were called.

Perhaps the kind reader will be taken aback, since he expected me to say: that is why they themselves were named "sun" and "moon." It may be that the two were named after sun and moon, like Little Red Riding Hood after her red hood. I do not know. Only it is difficult for me to imagine that the ancient Indians thought that way. I should then always come up against a conscious name-giving, such as takes place for children. In America, if a native should have to give he might call them "sun" and "moon." But if he is willing to show the origin of things, he is willing //Bill/ a story, the material for which is furnished by the characteristics of the thing, about a person of his name -- someone must have brought it and the person concerned was called not what the thing has been called since then. In the name of the thing, which is known to the listener, lies the evidence for the truth of the story and it satisfies the curiosity. Thus, among the Tupí there was a chief's daughter Yiaú who died [illegible] in the house of her father grew a plant, which became intertwined with its blossoms, people dig and found a root with interlocking nuts which since then has been called "Yiaú's house" (Yiaú), or "necklace." In the same way, I should prefer to think that a

/Old cont./

174 pair of twins were born who were called Kani and Kame and who, after they were grown up, became the sun and moon, which, naturally, before they knew anything about the sun and moon, were called Kani and Kame. The name of the two best things which they brought to us, the Bakaïf and Amak, is the one which they themselves had, and that is how we know where the two things came from.

In any case, I absolutely deny that sun and moon were personified. To be sure, if I had not definitely established that they are regarded as feather balls and as things which are in the possession of persons, if we had only the names of the culture heroes "Sun" and "Moon," I would have to see this case, too, united according to the conventional schema of personification. But that is out of the question here. The Indian concludes that someone must have brought the things, and this is, of course, the two tribal ancestors, who must necessarily have existed. And whose names he finds at hand.

174 175 Old Captain said they are called Tachichi or Kani and Nuna or Kame. He used the Karuk-ten and Amak words for sun and moon as proper names interchangeably at will, except that he reserved for his Bakaïf (in spite of Ufai = moon) the chief person, Kani, as the sun. Kani is always the clever one in the stories and Kame the stupid one: "Kame," Arnuma said, "is a booby (i guara hoba) and does everything wrong, but not Kani, oh no!" With this unknown, which is natural for every tribe, I come back to the connection with the geographical distribution and also to the explanation. Two heroes, "Sun" and "Moon," were the tribal ancestors of the Ita-Amak and Bakaïf, who in olden times lived together at a certain period. Naturally, each tribe chose "Sun" for its hero and gave "Moon" to the other. The Amak [illegible] and [illegible] Kani (moon), the present men, our Tachichi (sun) and your Nuna (moon). Thus, for the children of the two, the ancestors of the present-day Bakaïf, who were taught by both and were more concerned about the deeds of the heroes than about the word explanation, called the one who possessed the sun Tachichi, as the Indians called him, or Kani,

/369 cont./

174 as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
173 Nuña, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Aruak and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakairí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

173 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakairí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the *same features in many American* legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[191] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajos, and from there some of them emi-
169 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the xahó from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akuri palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaumí palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kuñapa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

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In January of 1967 Felipe gaily set out for Cayabi to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1967 that the Suiasiís of the Iyai Serury village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this issue.

## II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the Iyai Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Caraíba/ in the source region of the Tapajos /Tapajós/ and Schingú Iyai came to the original seat of the tribe later did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Nu-Aruak/ whose appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Dutch Central-Brasilien, page 19* /omitted in Literature of the Ed., a description of the work itself/. "Whether the Arawakan ancestor land is the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the groups/tribes distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, does not go for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paressí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cayabisis. For, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1966, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Mawe /Mawé/ and

//top cont.//

or the Saharan or Levantine region. In fact, from the majority of the native Canarians there was heard the definite assertion that they came from the southern mainland and those who have done best quite rightly praised this act.

It would scarcely be worthwhile to linger over the North American hypothesis formulated and embellished chiefly by the Englishman Edmund and the Frenchman de Rochefort had it not, strangely enough, found a keen champion in Alexander von Humboldt. He grants it the greatest probability and mentions as the estimate that the migration took place around 1000 B.C. without any conclusion.

If, however, Humboldt was on the wrong track with this opinion, nevertheless he unquestionably deserves credit for the even rigorous definition of the term "Guanche," insofar as the was possible at the time. //DF// Until his journey it was believed that the Canarians had died out -- and as the Islands, it is true, they had been destroyed, especially in conflicts with the French -- or had intermarried with negro slaves, the last remnants had been transported by the English toward the end of the previous century to an island in the Gulf of Honduras.

It was through Humboldt that attention was again focused on the mainland Guanches, who, with an estimated total number of 40,000 souls, were all living north of the Canaries three between its extension coming from the left or to the east area of the Chinese. Then recent times have been able to add not a few names to the tribes known at that time.

Thus, there naturally came to be expressed the view that the Canarians probably had their home in that country in which they seemed to be most densely concentrated, in the region of the Shaus of Tremecain and in the present-day Colonies, namely, in the northern or northernmost part of the South American continent, from where they crossed over to the Islands.

This solution was not satisfactory, however. With all their relationships, the tribes not only showed a gradually striking and very pronounced diversity of languages, but even in their endless struggle with other peoples, especially the eminently warlike

/587 cont./

Brazil, they nowhere displayed the characters of conquering invaders. Even though one therefore sees with regard to the Island Caribes that they came from the mainland that lay toward the south, and though Caribes tribes were also actually found there in unexpectedly large numbers -- nevertheless it now had to be admitted, this is not their home either.

There remained the possibility: they immigrated from the south, they crossed the Amazon River, pushed northward along one or several of its mighty southern tributaries, and originate from some region of the vast Brazilian land mass. Actually, however, this consideration was arrived at only because there was no other way out. Unfortunately, no Caribes at all were known in Brazil; only among a small tribe far up in the northwestern part of the empire, among the Pimentoiza, could definite Caribes elements be found in the language, but so untidy covered and garbled that they did not provide a reliable foothold. The only thing that could be offered to support the new conjecture was a motive of a more subjective nature. Throughout present-day Brazil, along the coast as well as eastward far across the deepest interior, throughout the Paraguay -- La Plata region and Bolivia and to the upper Amazonas, were spread the Tupi peoples, who seemed not inclined to yield to the Caribes, now these Tupi could indeed be the inventors and executors of the Caribes. This proposal found its staunchest advocates in the Uruguay and, above all, in the person of the distinguished founder of Brazilian ethnography, in Martius, a man who deserves far more credit to be study of American man than Humboldt. "From where did the Caribes originally /588/ come?" was Martius' question. "Concerning this we venture to put forth only the surmise that they were Tupi. The latter, spreading out over a large part of Brazil, also exerted a supremacy over other tribes and for a long time preserved an athletic physique and a heroic nature. It is not improbable that in ancient times -- perhaps centuries before the arrival of the Europeans in the New World -- contact and intermarriage between the Tupi and the inhabitants of the Caribes country took place, from which came the so-called

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Karaiben, not as a separate folk, but as people with a peculiar way of life, as brigands, pirates, and slayers of men."

I have already mentioned, page 133, that the kinship of Tupí and Karaiben run up against the irremovable obstacle of the diversity of languages, which is clearly marked even in the root-words. There is no bridge here. Though the study of the Galibí language and a comparison of it with the North Karaiben Indians furnished the positive result, on the other hand the southern hypothesis has nevertheless been aided by the now ascertained presence of a Karaiben population in the interior of the continent, and Lucien Adam, who in more recent times had spoken in favor of a homeland south of the Amazonas, on the basis of his careful investigation of Karaiben idioms, may thus enjoy the best confirmation.

Meanwhile a Karaiben tribe south of the Amazonas was found even before us. It, the "Paiawilan," is reported in a travel account, scarcely known in Europe, by the Brazilian physician, João Severiano da Fonseca,* who became acquainted

* Viagem ao redor do Brasil 1875-1878 /Journey around Brazil, 1875-1878/, Rio de Janeiro, 1880. Vol. II, 186 ff.

with them in 1877 with the detachment of Pedro Segundo (12° 19' 11", S south latitude and 69° 44' 22", E east of Rio de Janeiro) on the Guaporé and recorded a small vocabulary. Some seven or eight leagues away in the low spurs of the Parecí "Cabixiana" lived the "tribe of docile Indians who appeared only a few years ago and established communication with the members of the detachment and the river travelers. They speak an idiom different from that of the Guaporé tribes, mixed with Portuguese and Spanish words, and they cannot give their place of origin or descent. It is noteworthy, however, that a large number of their words are identical or similar to the Caribi dialect." Severiano learned from these Paiawilan who were in

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number of our Kwadon elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

As far as the relation of the Bakadi and Nzhugu to each other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are linguistically no closer than the Ostonia Kwadon are to one another. In fact, the Bakadi are closer to the Mokundi /Mokun/ or Bukuyeni /Bucuyen/ than to the Nzhugu. The influence of the neighboring Nu-Anuak, the parent tribe of the Kidimbu, on the language of the Nzhugu is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as in the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the Bakadi. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history and legend of the West Bakadi when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lay between the Konuru and the Pawantinga.

The latest acquisition to the Kwadon quorum, finally, and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment which it permits, is the Kpundi /Kpuncu/. Martin already speaks of "Kpundi" in the river basin of the Tokantsa /Tocantin/, he mentions them beside the Kawapi /Cacapa/ and regards them as Tupi, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajos living in a remote region and likewise called "Kpundi" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantsa, met a few Kpundi in Para Grande and /Hill/ identified them as Kwadon. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance to the Bakadi. The people said that they had been driven away by the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of the last branch of the lower Tokantsa, probably in the upper region of the Cacapa and Pacajá, approximately on the third degree south latitude. Ehrenreich suggests that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves underwent when, in the last decades of the century (cf. page 4*1), they were driven from the Pawantinga region to the Xingú. Nor do we know anything more specific about whether the Kpundi lived to the east or west of the Xingú, but the important fact that

/add cons./

there is historical proof here for the drift of the Karaiben from south to north is not effected by it. The drift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably further south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakairí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakairí. It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is *t-*, which in Bakairí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

Tooth ses, Bak. *tiše*, Karaiben in general.
Tongue sin (a slightly audible), Bak. *ñu* (third person).
Hand amue, Bak. *emde* (second person).
Foot ipun, Bak. *ñeñu* (third person).
Thigh ieun, Bak. *eudi* (third person).
Lower leg inchin, Bak. *ñeñuñu* (third person).
Knee inum, Bak. *ñdu* (third person).
Ear ainun, Bak. *wuruñu* (third person).
Nose ipun, Bak. *ipu*.
Water yam, Bak. *yau* water, river.
River yam ima, Bak. *yau ima* large river.
Sun hetinchi, Bak. *hetiñeñu*.
Moon nuny, Bak. *nüna*.
Heaven kaie, Bak. *ñkai*.
Rain kangun, Bak. *kñgun*.
Fire kangun (Bak. *gatu*), Bakairiene and other words, quote, s.f. the table in Bakairí Grammar, p. 178.
Tree, wood, ya, Bak. *ya*, Karaiñeñu *yai*, *yñ*.
Feather engma, Bak. *ñgima*.

/Bak./

Mother ainá, Bak. *ña*.

/Kil cont./

Uncle koko (patruus /father's brother/, matruus / mother's brother/), Bak. kʷĩgo matruus.

Grandfather tamio, Bak. ɛ̃ɛ̃mo, Colibi tamoko.

Snow pipim, Bak. pĩdĩ, pudu.

Bow upkar, Bak. ũk ka.

Tobacco tawa (a scarcely audible), Bak. tʷɛɛ.

House bisa, Bak. ɛ̃dɛ̃i.

Devil ehat, Bak. ɛ̃ɛ̃ti.

Sorcerer tatiut, Bak. tʷɛɛ.

Banana wantum, Duala Bak. banana.

Fish ait, North Kam. bato, ato Lik, Bak. pɛɛ wild game.

Pistella pond, Bak. pɛɛ.

- Snake ayu, Bak. ayɛ.

Ingua ayu, Bak. ɛ̃ɛ̃.

Here I have, of course, chosen very close correspondences, which is what matters at this point. The banana is again designated with a new word foreign to all Kamchan idioms. The Kyakó seem so little familiar with the fruit in their central location as the Gyá from whom they fled, and they probably live remote to acquaintance in the region between the Schingú and the Iriguay.

Numerous tribesmen of the Tapajoz, Schingú, and Iriguay are as yet completely unexplored. I am quite confident that there are still many a Kamchan people living there. The terrible end of the brave course of the Schingú are suspicious because of their harassing. The above-mentioned Tamaikuas in the province of Piauhy provide the easternmost trace of the Kamchan. Martius reports that since the year 1773 they have broken out from time to time between the sources of the Piauhy and the Iriguay and alarmed the towns of the upper Piauhy. "Members of this horde were already settled in former times in Caetetéhou along the Rio de San Francisco." * "The greater part of them is still roving

* Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /On the Ethnography of America, particularly Brazil/, pp. 348, 349. Leipzig, 1867.

/Kil cont./

ebout independently, and the Incendiaries on the right to use those of them whom they can capture as cows for ten years or so till them." * It is eagerly to be wish that a part of the

* Spix and Martius, Reise in Brasil /Travels in Brazil/, II, p. 605. Munich 1828.

natives had escaped the fire system of thenineteenth century and were available for a thorough investigation. The brief vocabulary which Spix and Martius adduce in Purdy (Glossary, p. 219) and in which Martius only recognized correspondences with Caraiben dialects -- e.g. mentions Tamanaka -- would not in the least, however, entitle to pronouncements for pure Caraiben. Nevertheless, with all the reserve with Cão or Tupí tribes, the Caraibenwords are unmistakable and more numerous than Most probably suspected. They are the words for tooth, tongue, ear-lobe, thigh, toe, uncle, father, brother, child, companion, (moon), wood, fire, earth, thunder, snow, /Kil/ mandio, tobacco (pipe), to sleep. Only there is such a swamp of it, [illegible] that familiar words soon very distorted, to example, mandio, Ind. aipim, Port. aipim(ind), or um, Tamanaka yuuri (Ind.-ing. wood), Port. aiuru.

While the Palmella and the Pyrenium according to everything that we know thus far, seem similar indeed to foreign surroundings, the united Botalli originally represent a very considerable complex, and as the so close [illegible] geographical location in the source region the Tupinis and Bolingi is remarkably suitable to the hypothesis of the [illegible] toward the south sunks as the southernmost the Nord Caraiben on the left bank of the Amazonas are [illegible] adjacent just opposite the mouths of the Tapajos and Xingú. I am far from regarding the Botalli as belonged as, e.g., the remnants of the scattered Caraiben base-people /Urvolk/, but rather I merely believe that everything suggests to they live closest to the original home of the base-people. Yet there was such a base-people, though perhaps, after all, such tribe, is as

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/Hill case./

comparative position of the linguistic components. In spite of all the differentiation in the course of time through intermixture with very diverse elements, there is still today a great unity of Carabao tribes, each of which possesses a larger or smaller stock of radical words. They effected their phonetic differentiation along exactly the same lines, but independently of one another. Thus, whether we assume migrations or slow drift, we always come back to an original community when, for example, the unaltered initial sound of the noun still existed. That very many centuries went by and very many drops flowed down the Amazonas since the radiation from the original centre took place may be concluded from the vast spatial expansion which the Carabao language unit has reached today. Thus it follows as a matter of course that even such Carabao as may still be living in the closest proximity to the original home must have undergone all the changes which such periods of time bring about, even under the most peaceful conditions. One must never forget that the "base-people," although it represents a unit of such an even rank in the many-branched tree that is being investigated, are itself merely a branch of the tree, just as any Carabao or tribal surname is also merely a link in an endless chain. Thus, the Bakairí are by no means the "original Carabao." To look for them would be as though the tree were to look for its still living parent Abraham.

The Carabao base-people already had maize, manioc, tobacco, yams, pepper, cotton, wheat bull. Of the evidence in the vocabulary of my Bakairí Grammatik. In matter how one twists and turns, one cannot escape the conclusion that the culture effected by these plants already belonged to the Carabao a very, very long time ago. It is only important to bear this in mind if one wishes to profit by the proper relation with the ancient legend. Reliable historical tradition will definite cannot even go back /400/ two hundred years. Thus one should really not blame the Bakairí if they can no longer serve up to the date which gave them tobacco and cotton and wife to the Carabao living in the north. But that these products came from

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the north is of the greatest moment to some of the general picture that we now have of the situation.

Only two things are possible. Either one dismisses the Hitchiti legend as an old wives' tale, in which case the matter is settled. I am unable to decide in favor of this because I do not see how one has the right to reject a definite assertion which is in no way improbable and agrees perfectly with the plant-geographical requirements. The only improbable thing for us is the person of the informant, but it, too, is precisely a guarantee of accuracy, since, by referring to an animal that was already living many centuries ago on the northern border of Setaldi territory, the tradition could actually be preserved. The Setaldi can do nothing about the fact that we are unable to imagine a tobacco-smoking octopus.

Thus, like Fontenay, I believe in the Hitchiti from whom tobacco and cotton came and then am confronted only with the second possibility, namely, that the original home of the Cherokee lies in the southern part of Hitchiti country. For the Iroquois people already had tobacco and cotton.

I even attach much greater importance to the evidence that is to the tradition that is spoken since the Setaldi emigrated -- or not tobacco either. I do not by any means doubt its accuracy. I also regard it as possible that one or another Cherokee site which we find in the north today may have come from very early Setaldi, but this would merely unconsciously prove what does not in the least need proving. Probably nothing else is conceivable, even though there is no tradition telling of it, but that throughout centuries smaller or larger groups from each side, especially a side that lived on fishing, like the Setaldi, wandered into other regions along the river courses and then, through contact with new tribes, also moved toward physical and linguistic differentiation. Not so little need it be proved -- as in fact it is proved by the Iroquois loan and borrow -- that the Setaldi were influenced in the course of the centuries by their neighbors with whom they intermingled. I repeat, the Setaldi are no original Cherokee, but unfortunately will they ever become such to their descendants in centuries to come, since they death cannot already exist.

Page next /

1997 however, to the language of the Saliquia, which seems pos-
sible, for example, to the Cumanagotan /Cumanagota/ and
Chayman /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging
to the same group, to which there have been printed grammars
and texts since 1680.

1104 /1951/ The second result was the finding of Caribs sites
1071 south of the Amazon, when these had once been believed to
have been found only north of the great river, such as the Crichana
/Circhana/, Waruma /Arauna/, and others. Shortly after-
ward, it was proved that these were not the only ones be-
tween the S. Francisco and Paraguay /Paraiba/ rivers.
Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the
Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribs; the Palmelas /Palmella/,
who, with whom Dr. Ehrenreich in Amazonia dealt on the
Guapore, were Caribs; more Caribs were found here by
Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the
Xingú, the Culisevú, and by Dr. Fritz Ehrenreich on the
river Tocantins, where they are called Apinagé.

1104 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Caribs languages
1104 and the existence of tribes that once lived south of the
1997 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from
south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the mi-
grations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite,
as was accepted until then? Almost unanimously the an-
swer was in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen
and by Dr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published vocab-
ularies by Caribs, among which were nine Carib ones.

1104 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den
Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by
the government, explored the Paranaua and Culisevú rivers
down to their mouth in the Cuiabá, the southernmost of the
tributaries of the Xingú.

1104 /1951/ Two books resulted from his journey: a monograph
on the language of the Bacairy (?), published in 1892, and the

775 [533] [539] [cont.] not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days, put mingki in two small gourds, put the mingki on the midst of the grave, two persons armed with clubs smote the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they live. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying: x-ai-gai (come, take heart!). When stepping, there is a blessing, saying: ai!!! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father. Save there is no one, inside the sky it is good. go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the gaits warden.

[539] Another passage has Hinkyes in the form of a tree (Magara). Stepping in the middle of an abandoned village [Aaqiba] and sweeping that no one could walk where a fight once took place.

For a white bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the gaits contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, trees that are in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Clearly the shadow is two, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the sun [Tsuung]. At the entrance of the sky there is the Lhibo with his keys; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blocked by the Lhibo, i.e., blows open, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go on Kaiowai.

Kaiowai is a word whose etymology cannot be explained by means of [this] language, the language of the Araucan [Araucanian] Indians of South Chile. Carlos the Secretis, often as a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London [xv]

775 [533] [539] [cont.] 11 [illegible] 915

xv. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend,

Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads the famous passage, the spirit of God moved over the waters (Genesis, I, 2). By translating "Ruwach" (Hebrew) [illegible] in which "Ruwach" means "spirit," "Nabach" and "Ruwach" are identical words, consonantally and even phonetically, since the ח is the former, like the ך is the latter, are final possessive indices of the third person; the double נ is the English combination that represents the same sound as the single נ in our writing (17) and the transformation of ך into נ, ך into ם.

> 12. Any statement is risky concerning the English ð. "The sound ð," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. It... This was in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet discovered its correct pronunciation." [Cited in English [illegible] Introduction to Phonetics, St. London, 1901.]

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Ruwach in the same manner as Nabach, as "spirit."

The Science [illegible] points us to take another step forward. For [illegible] in Hebrew as three writing. Would not שמש, "light," be the nucleus of Nabach and Ruwach, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved by the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Ancient traditions.

The Science [illegible] will explain better what to know about Nabach.

[illegible]

Part one /

539 in open area, where there are no human beings. It is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the
ten hours in the middle of the day which is spent sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Gerhardt on the customs of our land (pp. 81, 85, 103, and 108), conform when two have said concerning the drowsy character of the Tamilian.

539 Now, other considerations, however, seem to us of
• 126 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Tamilian, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Saxonian. We learn that they had zero for talking before they had zen, /haenmaeiha/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have paddles, and that they politely had married before they had the words with which they answer no their feelings.

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Tamilian is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustenance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an ominous being who plays upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, circumcision, festivals, working hours, everything falls within his inescapable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Saxonians could pass their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

778 Tamilian does not like crabs, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the small ones, says the /yaki/; --Tamilian goes into the
429 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
562 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the derrière of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with gentian, --paint themselves with crabs, --so Tamilian thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

[illegible]

Is Vainamoinen really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of Catholic catechism? We are reluctant to believe it, because the animals that Vainamoinen creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of darkness into his realm, his re-creation of the cosmos, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the vessel made by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Baronga. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Baronga conception, or it was completely smothered by the native thought-pass in which it was given.

Granting that Vainamoinen is a spontaneous and not a foreign [illegible], it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the vanilya--which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the three troubles on which the candidate must call if he wants to rise to [illegible]: the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the vanilya that its burned seed drives them to flee the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the rocket. Actually in Baronga, [illegible] [illegible] its words mean two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful parrakeet with which we are familiar, and the term [illegible] that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "They appear [illegible] (verbally "are deceived" because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the [illegible] arara; then comes the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]," made a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both on a mythical plane and on an astronomical context, the tail of the arara proves that Vainamoinen represents a luminous power.

/12 cont./

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 30 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson and Cacique, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the region east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./
174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5). I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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[642]
[113]

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

173 /16 cont./undoubtedly the Bakairí had [illegible] lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

● 174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
179 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./
correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Kairi and
Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguis-
tic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this
linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends
rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the
Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí, just as the
Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter
are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According
to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Manikoma as they are called
by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the sun group of
Chumákiare (Tchumkaurê according to Karl v. d. Steinen),
the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamáso and the latter's
wife, but then became the victim of Uaiomo, the son of Kamáso,
who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chumákiare in the texts of Paressí legends. In these
legends Chumákiare, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were
born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be
assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his sun group, were
also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between
the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times,
and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den
Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e.,
Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

/20 cont./

159 valley and coexisted with its people in one village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Río Paraguaya
361 (Río Tuichi Fork) and four kilometers from the main river on
the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the
time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Sondeo Lopes
/Sondeo Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza we know that Delfa Rosa
593 Soares, José Cervelé's mother and for many years Cacique
Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
/27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
• [204] one hand, that José Cervelé's move to the Ribeirão Azul had
already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other
hand, that Rosa Soares, in the quarrel between her husband and
her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had
already married in 1913 a young woman who, according to
Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake
with respect to this piece of information, for we know through
Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young
Luiza Kayabí was old Cassiano, who was then cacique of the
xixica situated on the Río Paraguaya, while I never heard it
said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in per-
son, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of
Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that
she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at
the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Sondeo Lopes Post
and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the
natural daughter, of old Cacique Cassiano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Río
361 Paraguaya had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kururú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180
Xinguanos to the Río Paraguaya. Cacique Kururú's new xixica
was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's
xixica, on the left side of the Río Paraguaya and some 200
meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

[illegible]

[illegible] cm.)

[illegible] Carnegie Museum houses, where they were worn on the dance harness regalia on specific times by the Kinguanos. The two-engraved ornamentations enhanced with black paint are chiefly geometrical. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Bai Kulumbu Bakwil. The length of these disks measures from 7½ cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 6.5 cm.

Of the figures made of maize husk, such as the Bakwil of the upper Xingu River tributaries has in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Kinguanos on the Rio Ferreira[illegible]. which represent birds (V.B. [illegible] and [illegible]. Length 13 cm.) A tail plume of tufts of corn of maize (V.B. [illegible]. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakwil of the Kulumbu in general for their game with a ball, which they called [illegible], is shown in Figure 21, b.

Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 21, c (V.B. [illegible]. Length 12 cm.) were placed, in bundles Lapa, around the [illegible] seeds of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakwil who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 21, d.

Finally, I must still mention the carried board shown on Figure 21, e (V.B. [illegible]. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakwil of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

/Gê/ cont. /

534 rich accordance with geometric design. These motifs are still used in basket weaves in Bororo Leste.

535 539 The informants remembered the following dances and songs: aiwa, a dance performed with the help of the adanoni dolls, at no specific time; owaiwâ, the maize song; waiwâiwaiwi, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; paiwowâ, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or waiwâiwâdâri.

In the second dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the spirits, souls of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

993 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Yumu (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Yaiouri. (17) Tchini and Yumu

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 6, pp. 45-50, 230-241.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same role of /Sol/ creating the Bakairí is attributed to Yaiouri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The Paressaringa Indians told us the following myth:

E16 (174)

Ismaiñi or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with